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Guarding the gates of Europe: A typological analysis of immigration attitudes across 21 countries

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With data from the European Social Survey ($N = 36,602$), individual patterns of three immigration attitudes, referred to as gatekeeping attitudes, were investigated within and across 21 European national contexts. Gatekeeping attitudes, akin to blatant and subtle forms of xenophobia, designate the level of endorsement of different admission standards set for immigrants entering European countries, as well as of expulsion criteria for immigrants transgressing norms and laws. A K-means cluster analysis, performed on national majority members' scores of endorsement of individual (e.g., language and working skills) and categorical (e.g., skin colour, religion) entry criteria and individual expulsion criteria (e.g., criminal act, long-term unemployment), yielded a typology of three constrained combinations of these dimensions. *Strict gatekeepers* favoured all criteria, *lenient gatekeepers* opposed all criteria, whereas *individualist gatekeepers* favoured individual and opposed categorical criteria. Membership in typology groups was predicted with a generalized prejudiced attitude construct, social status, and personal contact with immigrants. *Lenient gatekeepers* were less homophobic, had a higher education level, felt financially less vulnerable, and had more immigrant friends than *strict gatekeepers*. *Individualist gatekeepers* held an intermediate position. Variability was observed in all countries, despite the prevalence of a typology group within a given country. *Strict gatekeepers* were common among participants from Southern and Eastern European nations, *lenient gatekeepers* in Scandinavian countries, and *individualist gatekeepers* in Western European countries. Cross-national differences are discussed in light of European immigration history and policies.

Les données d'une enquête sociale européenne ($N = 36,602$) ont permis d'étudier les patrons individuels de trois attitudes face à l'immigration, identifiées comme des «attitudes gardiennes», auprès de 21 contextes européens nationaux. Les attitudes gardiennes, analogues à des formes flagrantes et subtiles de xénophobie, reflètent le niveau d'acceptation des différentes normes d'admission établies pour les immigrants entrant dans les pays européens, tout comme pour les critères d'expulsion pour les immigrants transgressant les normes et lois. Une analyse de classification à partir des moyennes (*K-means cluster*) a été menée sur les scores des membres de la majorité nationale relativement à leur soutien des critères d'entrée individuels (p. ex., langue, compétence de travail) et catégoriels (p. ex., couleur de la peau, religion) et des critères d'expulsion individuels (p. ex., acte criminel, chômage prolongé). Les résultats ont démontré une typologie comprenant trois combinaisons de ces dimensions: les *gardiens stricts* favorisaient tous les critères, les *gardiens indulgents* s'appuyaient à tous les critères, tandis que les *gardiens individualistes* favorisaient les critères individuels tout en s'opposant aux critères catégoriels. L'appartenance à un de ces groupes était prédite par une attitude discriminatoire généralisée, le statut social et le contact personnel avec des immigrants. Les *gardiens indulgents* étaient moins homophobes, avaient un niveau de scolarité plus élevé, se sentaient financièrement moins vulnérables et avaient plus d'amis immigrants que les *gardiens stricts*. Les *gardiens individualistes* se trouvaient à une position intermédiaire. Une variabilité a été observée dans tous les pays. Cependant, certains groupes de typologie étaient plus présents dans certains pays. Ainsi, les *gardiens stricts* étaient plus présents dans les nations du Sud et de l'Est de l'Europe, les *gardiens indulgents* dans les pays scandinaves et les *gardiens individualistes* dans les pays de l'Ouest européen. Les différences entre les pays sont discutées à la lumière de l'histoire et des politiques d'immigration en Europe.

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Se investigó, con los datos de la Encuesta Social Europea (N = 36,602), las pautas individuales de tres actitudes de inmigración, referidas como las actitudes de cancerbero, en y entre 21 contextos nacionales europeos. Las actitudes de cancerbero, similares a formas evidentes y sutiles de xenofobia, designan el nivel de aprobación de los diferentes estándares de admisión establecidos para los inmigrantes que entran a los países europeos, así como de los criterios de expulsión de los inmigrantes que transgreden las normas y leyes. Un análisis de conglomerados de medias-K, realizado con las calificaciones de aprobación de los criterios de admisión individuales (por ejemplo, idioma y destrezas laborales) y categóricos (por ejemplo, color de la piel, religión) obtenidas por miembros de las mayorías nacionales, arrojó una tipología de tres combinaciones restringidas de estas dimensiones. Los *cancerberos estrictos* favorecían todos los criterios, los *cancerberos indulgentes* se oponían a todos los criterios, en tanto que los *cancerberos individualistas* favorecían los criterios individuales y se oponían a los categóricos. Se predijo la pertenencia a los tipos de grupos con un constructo de actitud de prejuicio generalizado, el estatus social y el contacto personal con inmigrantes. Los *cancerberos indulgentes* resultaron menos homofóbicos, tenían mayor nivel educativo, se sentían menos vulnerables en términos económicos y tenían más amigos inmigrantes que los *estrictos*. Los *individualistas* mantenían una postura intermedia. Se observó variabilidad en todos los países, independientemente de la predominancia de un tipo de grupo dentro de un país determinado. Fue común encontrar *estrictos* entre los participantes de naciones del sur y este de Europa, *indulgentes* en países escandinavos, e *individualistas* en países de Europa Occidental. Las diferencias entre un país y otro se discuten a la luz de la historia y las políticas de inmigración europeas.

Currently immigration is a debated issue in most European nations. Some nations have a long history of immigration, which has resulted from both colonial and labour importing policies. Other countries, in turn, have remained fairly homogenous until recently. Nevertheless, current-day immigration involves larger numbers of people, growing migration from outside of the European Union (e.g., the Balkans or North Africa), and more complex reasons for migration than ever before (Castles & Miller, 2003; Coleman, 1999; Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005; Sassen, 1999; Soysal, 1994). Hostile and xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants remain common, notwithstanding the context of expansion of the European Union to the East, and harmonizing of immigration and asylum regulations within the Union (e.g., Coenders, Scheepers, Sniderman, & Verberk, 2001; Deschamps & Lemaine, 2004; Jackson, Brown, Brown, & Marks, 2001; Pettigrew et al., 1998; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Sanchez-Mazas, 2004).

The purpose of this article is to examine public support for standards describing which individuals should be allowed to immigrate to a country and which immigrants should be made to leave. This research aims to examine patterns of *simultaneous* endorsement or opposition of a range of criteria for immigration (see also Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). While the study of immigration attitudes has often focused on comparisons between Western European countries, this paper examines a typology of immigration attitudes of Western and Eastern European citizens from 21 countries with a new database from the European Social Survey (2003; ESS).

Immigration control with gatekeeping attitudes

Different types of criteria can be used to decide which immigrants should be granted the right to enter the territory of a nation and which should be made to leave. These criteria indicate which out-group members are accepted into the national in-group space. Besides entering the physical space, immigrants also enter a "moral" community defined by rights and obligations (see Anderson, 1991), and thus become—at least to a certain degree—citizens of the society (Castles & Miller, 2003). In this paper, attitudes towards immigration criteria are referred to as gatekeeping. Gatekeeping attitudes designate the level of endorsement of different admission standards and rules set for immigrants entering European countries, as well as expulsion criteria for immigrants transgressing laws and norms.

In addition to separating entry and expulsion criteria, gatekeeping attitudes can be organized according to the distinction between a *categorical* and an *individual* perception of persons (e.g., Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kenny, 2004; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). A categorical set of qualities is related to intrinsic, collectively ascribed characteristics that define a social group. These gatekeeping criteria contain little leeway, since individuals who do not fulfil the criteria (e.g., in terms of skin colour or religion) have hardly any possibilities of acquiring the required characteristics. According to such criteria, refusal of entry is based, for example, on membership of ethnic or national categories.

Individual gatekeeping criteria, in turn, are defined by individual competence and attitudes, which in principle anyone willing could acquire. As opposed to categorical criteria, individuals have control, at least in theory, over fulfilment of these criteria. Specific working and language skills or endorsement of core values are examples of individual criteria.

Expulsion, finally, represents the reverse process of entry, as immigrants already residing in the country are ejected. Individual expulsion is the most severe punishment for undesirable behaviour, for example, when an immigrant commits a crime. Endorsement of expulsion criteria implies the belief that offenders have deliberately committed a crime, that is, that their behaviour is under individual control.

Gatekeeping as prejudice

The notions of blatant and subtle prejudice (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) are helpful in conceptualizing categorical and individual immigration criteria. The endorsement of categorical criteria is explicitly xenophobic or prejudiced, since it is directed towards the rejection of entire categories of people, for example, non-Whites. Categorical entry criteria are particularly harsh because they are absolute in nature, they imply absence of individual control, and they leave no option to satisfy the required criteria. The support for these criteria is thus akin to traditional or blatant prejudice.

Today, however, equality in general, and equal treatment of host country members and immigrants in particular, are powerful norms (Soysal, 1994). Following the prevalence of these norms, new more covert and acceptable ways of expressing xenophobia and prejudice have emerged (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Katz & Hass, 1988; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Sears & Henry, 2005). Defence of traditional values is one of the key components of these new subtle and symbolic forms of prejudice. At first sight, individual immigration criteria could seem more inclusive than categorical criteria, as they are "colour-blind" and all immigrants may acquire the required qualifications. Support for individual immigration criteria can nevertheless be associated with a subtle form of prejudice because immigrants are expected to adopt host country values and to conform to its practices (see Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Strong expectations of assimilation express prejudice, as they favour Westernized well-educated, high-status immigrants.

The third dimension of gatekeeping attitudes refers to individual expulsion, which can also be considered a subtle form of prejudice. Previous research on attitudes of national majority members in France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the former West Germany has evidenced that seemingly nonprejudiced people are willing to expel immigrants when they have committed a crime (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The transgression gives a socially acceptable reason to send away an immigrant.

Patterns of gatekeeping

Host country members are expected to be aware of and understand the three dimensions of gatekeeping (categorical and individual entry criteria, and individual expulsion criteria) when thinking about immigration. However, they differ in the degree of endorsement of these criteria (Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993; Doise & Staerklé, 2002). The objective of this research is to study to what extent individuals endorse or reject all gatekeeping criteria, or alternatively agree with some criteria and oppose others. By investigating patterns of immigration attitudes rather than separate dimensions (such as a generalized resistance to immigrants and asylum seekers, e.g., Coenders, Gijsberts, & Scheepers, 2004; Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2005; Jackson et al., 2001), the present study complements previous analyses.

A typological approach is an appropriate way to study the occurrence of immigration attitude patterns. The observation of attitude patterns instead of isolated attitudes allows a parsimonious taxonomic analysis (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984; Asendorpf, 2002; Bailey, 1994), because it reveals how a particular typology group scores on different dimensions *simultaneously*. A typological approach therefore allows the identification of similarities among individuals *within* a typology group on multiple dimensions. Similarly, differences between individuals on these dimensions *across* typology groups can be studied. The prevalence of typology groups can further be observed both on a within- and between-country level. Finally, while typology classification is mostly an inductive approach (Bailey, 1994), the types can be compared on attitude dimensions other than those used to construct the typology. This strategy of external validation prevents the reification of the classification solution (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984).

To study patterns of gatekeeping, a typology is constructed that classifies people into subgroups defined by specific patterns of endorsement of gatekeeping attitudes. On the basis of the Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) typology, two extreme types of gatekeeping are expected to emerge in a typological analysis. Endorsement of all gatekeeping criteria implies the refusal of entry to a given category of immigrants coupled with assimilationist expectations of conformity with important norms and values of the host country. Individuals holding these views are akin to the bigots of the Pettigrew and Meertens typology, who were racist in both a blatant and a subtle manner. Refusal of all criteria, in turn, is the most tolerant position. Individuals holding these positions would be akin to the equalitarians in the typology of Pettigrew and Meertens. Yet other types of gatekeeping should be evidenced for individuals who differentiate between the individual and categorical criteria. These intermediate stances emerge on the basis of endorsement of some criteria and rejection of others. Norms of equality, individualism, and meritocracy (e.g., Dubois & Beauvois, 2005; Green, 2006; Jetten, Postmes, & McAuliffe, 2002) may lead some to support individual criteria (e.g., expulsing immigrants who commit crimes) while opposing categorical criteria (e.g., deciding who can enter on the basis of skin colour). This kind of positioning bears some similarity to subtle racists, who endorse subtle racism and reject blatant racism (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; see also Coenders et al., 2001).

Individual differences in gatekeeping typology

In all countries, some individuals take a restrictive stance to immigration while others are more indulgent. Therefore, all patterns of gatekeeping should emerge in each country. Besides differing views concerning immigration, how do people supporting strict gatekeeping criteria differ from people opposing gatekeeping criteria? What differentiates support for categorical and individual criteria? Drawing upon theoretical frameworks highlighting the impact of group status (objective and subjective), perceived individual vulnerability, contact, and generalized prejudice, systematic individual variation between different types of gatekeeping is expected (Doise et al., 1993). A range of sociodemographic (e.g., education, income) as well as attitudinal (e.g., perceived personal and national economic vulnerability)

factors are used to account for typology group membership.

Immigration in Europe is typically concentrated in urban areas. Moreover, immigrants are often members of low-status groups with low income and low level of formal education. Therefore, host country members, holding similar positions in society as immigrants, may experience immigration as a threatening phenomenon and be inclined to endorse strict gatekeeping attitudes (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002). From a realistic conflict perspective, competition over scarce resources between social groups (Bobo, 1983; Sherif, 1967), that is, *objective* material threat, leads to negative out-group attitudes. Indeed, the relationship between low social position of host country members and negative immigration attitudes is frequently documented (Coenders et al., 2005; Scheepers et al., 2002; Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004). Consequently, individuals with low income and low educational level are more likely to hold strict gatekeeping attitudes than those with high income and high educational level (Wagner & Zick, 1995; see Jackman & Muha, 1984).

Differences between support for categorical and individual criteria can also be understood from a group status perspective, which has shown that low status groups tend to perceive themselves as well as others more in terms of category membership (Deschamps, 1982; Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1998), whereas high status groups tend to perceive themselves and others in terms of unique and differentiated individuals (Beauvois, 1994). Therefore, members of low status groups should support categorical immigration criteria more than members of high-status groups (see De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2005). Members of high status groups, in turn, should be more likely to support individual immigration criteria.

Subjective feelings of vulnerability can be equally strong predictors of strict gatekeeping attitudes as objective factors (e.g., Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Stephan & Renfro, 2003). A group-position perspective (see Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) assesses collective threat by the degree to which individuals feel their group (i.e., fellow citizens) to be at risk of losing resources to out-groups. Hence the perceived association between deterioration of the nation's economy and immigrants provides a reason to restrict entry.

Although evidence of the role of self-interest in policy attitude formation is equivocal (see Miller, 1999; Sears & Funk, 1991), one can expect that subjective individual vulnerability gives rise to

belief systems that favour severe entry and expulsion criteria (Stephan & Renfro, 2003). The perception of one's personal economic situation, for example, the anticipation of a deteriorating personal economic situation and concern for one's physical safety, should also lead to negative out-group attitudes, that is, strict gatekeeping. Direct contact with immigrants may be yet another factor influencing gatekeeping attitudes. If proximity to immigrants in urban areas is perceived as threatening, this fear can translate into strict gatekeeping. Alternatively, having contact with immigrants, in terms of friendships, can also improve intergroup relations (Pettigrew, 1998; Wagner, Van Dick, Pettigrew, & Christ, 2003) leading to more lenient gatekeeping attitudes. Finally, in line with theories stressing a generalized attitude towards different minorities (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Duckitt, 2001; see also Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003), it is expected that people with anti-immigration stances are also more inclined to be prejudiced towards other types of minority groups.

Present study

First, patterns of gatekeeping attitudes within individuals were studied by restricting the analysis to three specific dimensions, defined as endorsement of individual entry, categorical entry, and individual expulsion criteria concerning immigrants. A typology of individuals was created that distinguishes typical combinations of the three dimensions on the individual level, irrespective of national membership. Next, individual differences in typology membership as well as within- and between-country variations of the typology distribution were explored in 21 countries. The study is based on survey data issued by the 2003 *European Social Survey* (ESS). The ESS is a new, academically driven survey, aimed at studying sociopolitical issues such as immigration (<http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>).

METHOD

Participants

This paper concentrated on the opinions of self-declared members of the national majority in each country. The overall sample consisted of 36,602 citizens from 21 European countries (see Table 1). All but Norway and Switzerland are members of the European Union. Fifty-three per cent of

respondents were female, the proportion ranging from 46% to 58% across countries. Mean age was 48 years, ranging from 44 to 53 years across countries. According to the ESS technical report (2003; Chapter 2), most countries met the defined sampling requirements.

Measures

Gatekeeping attitudes. Participants were asked how important seven characteristics were in deciding whether someone born, brought up, and living outside the country should be allowed to come and live in the host country (see Table 2). An item inquiring about the importance of wealth for entry was eliminated from the Italian and French sample due to erroneous translation. The 11-point scale ranged from 0 (*extremely unimportant*) to 10 (*extremely important*). Agreement with expelling immigrants who had committed crimes or were unemployed for an extended period was assessed with three items. The scales ranged from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). Higher scores indicate more restrictive gatekeeping.

Individual difference predictors. *Group status* was assessed with objective and subjective indicators. *Socioeconomic status* was measured with participants' *education level* and *household income*. Mean length of education was 12 years, ranging from 7.5 to 13 years across countries. Household income was measured with a country-specific question.¹ *Perceived collective vulnerability* (subjective group status) was assessed with dissatisfaction with the present state of the national economy on an 11-point scale ranging from 0 (*extremely satisfied*) to 10 (*extremely dissatisfied*). High scores denote high perceived collective vulnerability. *Subjective individual economic and physical vulnerability* was measured with satisfaction with current household income ranging from 1 (*living comfortably on income*) to 4 (*very difficult to live on income*) and perception of safety when walking alone in the local neighbourhood ranging from 1 (*very safe*) to 4 (*very unsafe*). High scores denote high perceived individual vulnerability. *Contact with immigrants* was

¹To enable cross-national comparisons, income was divided by the mean income of each country (e.g., Scheepers et al., 2002). Due to high rate of nonresponse for household income (20%), missing values were imputed by the country-specific mean. Elimination of participants refusing to indicate household income did not alter the main results.

TABLE 1

Language of survey, means, standard deviations, and reliabilities for individual entry, individual expulsion, and categorical entry criteria by country

Country	N	Language	Individual entry			Individual expulsion			Categorical entry		
			M	SD	α	M	SD	α	M	SD	α
Western Europe											
Austria	1982	German	7.12	2.17	.80	3.45	0.99	.73	2.71	2.40	.77
Belgium	1739	Flemish, French	6.90	2.06	.79	3.47	0.95	.74	2.76	2.32	.72
France	1378	French	6.84	2.03	.77	3.23	1.20	.83	2.72	2.51	.73
Germany	2734	German	7.38	1.92	.78	3.75	0.81	.71	2.20	2.08	.71
Ireland	1914	English	6.48	2.08	.77	3.43	0.85	.74	2.81	2.42	.80
Luxembourg	1014	French	7.29	1.96	.63	3.15	0.87	.64	1.27	1.84	.70
Netherlands	2230	Dutch	6.76	1.92	.76	3.49	0.93	.78	2.32	2.04	.77
Switzerland	1763	German, French, Italian	6.43	1.97	.74	3.58	0.79	.66	2.10	1.96	.75
United Kingdom	1879	English	7.00	1.99	.81	3.51	0.89	.78	2.92	2.41	.80
Eastern Europe											
Czech Republic	1312	Czech	7.10	2.07	.77	4.17	0.83	.72	3.77	2.56	.79
Hungary	1527	Hungarian	7.90	1.67	.67	4.27	0.72	.67	4.26	2.71	.73
Poland	2019	Polish	6.65	2.12	.75	3.72	0.82	.67	3.98	2.72	.77
Slovenia	1454	Slovenian	7.25	2.04	.72	3.63	0.80	.68	3.24	2.81	.81
Scandinavia											
Denmark	1444	Danish	6.48	2.31	.78	2.98	0.77	.60	2.66	2.34	.75
Finland	1951	Finnish, Swedish	6.89	1.84	.79	3.33	1.04	.76	3.34	2.54	.81
Norway	1941	Norwegian	5.98	2.11	.76	3.34	0.82	.71	2.68	2.21	.82
Sweden	1881	Swedish	5.44	2.47	.82	2.99	0.76	.67	1.83	2.08	.80
Southern Europe											
Greece	2220	Greek	8.00	1.51	.65	4.21	0.80	.75	4.70	2.61	.72
Italy	1186	Italian	6.29	1.93	.74	3.90	0.89	.74	3.52	2.58	.69
Portugal	1419	Portuguese	6.64	1.92	.78	3.80	0.79	.66	4.49	2.28	.67
Spain	1615	Catalan, Castilian	6.52	2.09	.78	3.38	0.93	.72	3.37	2.58	.84
Total	36602		6.84	2.10	.77	3.57	0.94	.74	3.02	2.53	.77

Entry criteria scores on 11-point scale (0 = *extremely unimportant*, 10 = *extremely important*), expulsion criteria score on 5-point scale (1 = *disagree strongly*, 5 = *agree strongly*).

measured with degree of urbanity of residence and immigrant friendships. Response alternatives for location of residence ranged from 1 (*countryside*) to 5 (*big city*). Participants also indicated whether they had *no* (1), *few* (2), or *several* (3) immigrant friends. In order to study *generalized prejudiced*

attitudes related to xenophobia, a measure of homophobia was included. Participants' indicated the degree to which they agreed that gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish. The response scale varied from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*).

TABLE 2

Principal component pattern matrix after oblique rotation with items defining gatekeeping criteria, standardized items

Items	Components		
	1	2	3
Good educational qualifications	.81		
Speak country's official language	.81		
Work skills needed in country	.76		.10
Committed to way of life in country	.64	.14	
If immigrants commit serious crime, they should be made to leave		.87	-.12
If immigrants commit any crime, they should be made to leave		.84	.12
If immigrants are long term unemployed, they should be made to leave		.69	
Be white			.91
Christian background			.77
Be wealthy			.77
Eigenvalue	3.99	1.32	1.18
Explained variance (%)	40	13	12

Saturations >.10 reported.

Typology and structural equivalence

The study of the relationships between endorsement of individual entry, individual expulsion, and categorical entry criteria *within* individuals, *within* countries, as well as *across* countries are located on levels of analysis that are conceptually distinct (Leung & Bond, 1989), though not necessarily independent (e.g., Hox, 2002). In this study, an individual-level typology is formed. Since the typology pools individuals across countries, psychometric qualities of the measures and their correspondence between levels of analysis need to be established (e.g., Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

The z-standardized items measuring entry and expulsion criteria were first subjected to an individual-level (36,602 individuals as units of analysis) principal components analysis with oblimin rotation (Table 2). Three factors were extracted with the eigenvalue >1 criterion. The analysis distinguished admission and expulsion criteria on three factors. The first factor was characterized by *individual entry* criteria (related to individual competence and attitudes). The second dimension measured attitudes toward an *individual expulsion* criterion (punishing delinquent behaviour with expulsion). Finally, the third factor covered *categorical entry* criteria (related to intrinsic ascribed characteristics that are hard to change). The principal component analyses carried out within each of the 21 countries yielded highly similar factor structures. In Portugal, the wealth qualification item loaded on the individual, instead of categorical, entry factor. Only in Sweden and Norway was a two-factor structure revealed, where individual and categorical entry criteria loaded on the same factor. With the French and Italian data, the analysis was conducted without the erroneous item. Nevertheless, the factor structures matched that of the other countries.

To further test the fit of the three-factor model, confirmatory factor analyses were carried out with AMOS 5.0 on the overall sample as well as separately for all countries. Model fit was satisfactory in a model distinguishing individual entry, categorical entry, and individual expulsion factors, $\chi^2(32) = 5678.51$, $p < .001$, GFI = .97, CFI = .95, and RMSEA = .07. GFI statistics were above .90 in all countries. In turn, CFI statistics were above .90 in all countries except Poland (.89), Greece (.88), and Portugal (.85). RMSEA statistics were below .08 in all countries except France (.09), Denmark (.09), Austria (.10), Poland (.10), Greece (.10), and Portugal (.11). A model separating entry criteria and expulsion criteria factors was also tested on the overall sample. This two-factor

model had a poor fit, $\chi^2(34) = 18762.97$, $p < .001$, GFI = .88, CFI = .84, and RMSEA = .12. This model was tested on the Swedish and Norwegian data since exploratory factor analyses yielded a two-factor solution. For both Sweden and Norway, the model fit was better in the three-factor model than in the two-factor model. Therefore, the three dimensions of gatekeeping were employed in the following analyses.

The internal consistencies of the three dimensions were satisfactory when calculated over pooled participants as well as within countries. Equivalence of scales across nations was considered adequate, and individual entry and expulsion and categorical entry criteria scores were thus calculated (see Table 1). Due to missing values, at least one of the three scores was not calculated for 670 participants, leaving 35,932 subjects for the rest of the analyses.

Next, the equivalence of relationships between the three dimensions was observed on the individual and aggregate level. The individual- (35,932 individuals as units of analysis) and aggregate-level (21 countries as units of analysis) bivariate correlations between the three gatekeeping dimensions were positive. Individual entry was related to individual expulsion ($r = .41$, $p < .001$ for individual level and $r = .61$, $p < .01$ for aggregate level) and with categorical entry ($r = .47$, $p < .001$, and $r = .38$, $p < .10$, respectively). Moreover, categorical entry was correlated with individual expulsion ($r = .37$, $p < .001$, and $r = .73$, $p < .001$, respectively). The same patterns were revealed within all 21 nations (correlation coefficients ranged from .11 to .62, $ps < .001$). The similarity of individual-level, aggregate-level, and within-country correlations further suggested equivalency of relationship and patterning effect of the measures (Leung & Bond, 1989), permitting the data to be merged for an individual-level cluster analysis.

Gatekeeping dimensions as anti-immigration attitudes

To observe the extent to which support of individual entry and expulsion criteria and categorical entry criteria denote xenophobia and anti-immigration attitudes, the scores were correlated on a set of control items that ostensibly assess immigration attitudes: acceptance of immigrants of same ethnicity in country (responses range from 1 = *allow many* to 4 = *allow none*), stopping immigration to reduce tensions in country (responses range from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 5 = *agree strongly*), and reluctance to have a person of a different race or

ethnicity as a boss (responses range from 0 = *not mind at all* to 10 = *mind a lot*). The individual expulsion (correlation coefficients ranged from .36 to .50, $ps < .001$), individual entry (correlation coefficients ranged from .27 to .37, $ps < .001$), and categorical entry (correlation coefficients ranged from .29 to .42, $ps < .001$) criteria scores correlated similarly with the set of control items. The three measures can therefore each be considered indicators of anti-immigration attitudes.

RESULTS

Typology of gatekeeping

A typology was created to study variability of patterns of gatekeeping attitudes at the intra-individual level. Cluster analysis is useful when large numbers of individuals are grouped, as is the case in studies involving cross-national comparisons. Doise, Spini, and Clémence (1998), for example, used cluster analysis in a 35-country study on attitudes towards human rights to demonstrate patterns of evaluation of the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Green, Deschamps, and Páez (2005), in turn, revealed different patterns of individualism and collectivism with this method. A K-means cluster analysis with an iterative classification procedure was carried out to categorize the respondents based on their endorsement of individual entry and expulsion criteria and categorical entry criteria. Respondents were classified into relatively homogenous clusters on the basis of a dissimilarity matrix. Participants were classified (ignoring their national membership) by maximizing dissimilarity, in terms of Euclidean distances, *between* clusters and similarity *within* clusters. A three-cluster solution was retained due to its interpretability with raw as well as with standardized data.

The mean endorsement of individual and categorical entry and individual expulsion criteria

in the three groups are presented in Table 3. The first group was called *strict gatekeepers*, as they had the highest scores on all three criteria. *Lenient gatekeepers*, the second group, had the lowest scores on these criteria. The third group, *individualist gatekeepers*, endorsed individual entry and expulsion criteria, but rejected categorical criteria. The rejection of categorical criteria differentiated individualist gatekeepers from strict gatekeepers, but was common for individualist and lenient gatekeepers. This typology was akin to the Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) typology distinguishing bigots, egalitarians, and subtle racists. Of the sample, 41% (38% for standardized data) were individualist gatekeepers, 36% (33%) strict gatekeepers, and 23% (29%) lenient gatekeepers. The typologies with raw and standardized data demonstrated a clear overlap, Cramer's $V = .78$; $\chi^2(4) = 43240.97$, $p < .001$. Consequently, only the results for raw data are presented.

Cluster analyses were conducted separately as a function of geographical regions (Northern, Eastern, Southern, Western Europe; see Table 1 for the groupings) to guarantee the validity of the typology across regions. The three typology groups across regions matched the classification of participants in the original cluster analysis ($kappa = .82-.90$). The mean $kappa$ -value across all regions was .85, exceeding the level of acceptable replication (e.g., Schnabel, Asendorpf, & Ostendorf, 2002). This replication supports the generality of the cluster solution (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984).

Since cluster analysis maximizes the differences between groups, interpretation of group mean differences (F s ranged from 3918.39 to 48,869.57) is misleading (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). Therefore, the cluster solution was externally validated with control items used to validate the three gatekeeping dimensions. Lenient gatekeepers ($M = 1.91$, $SD = 0.74$) were more inclined than individualist gatekeepers ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 0.74$) and strict gatekeepers ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 0.80$) to

TABLE 3

Estimated means for individual entry, categorical entry, and individual expulsion criteria by typology obtained in cluster analysis (standardized data in parentheses)

Gatekeeping attitudes	Groups		
	Strict gatekeepers	Lenient gatekeepers	Individualist gatekeepers
Individual expulsion	3.97 _a (.46 _a)	2.91 _c (-.86 _c)	3.58 _b (.29 _b)
Individual entry	7.90 _a (.44 _a)	3.89 _c (-.75 _c)	7.56 _b (.20 _b)
Categorical entry	5.87 _a (.92 _a)	0.80 _c (-.62 _c)	1.78 _b (-.41 _b)
<i>N</i>	12824 (11832)	8333 (10358)	14775 (13742)

For raw data, entry criteria scores on 11-point scale (0 = *extremely unimportant*, 10 = *extremely important*), expulsion criteria score on 5-point scale (1 = *disagree strongly*, 5 = *agree strongly*). Means in the same row that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .001$.

accept same-ethnicity immigrants, $F(2, 34,713) = 1658.66$, $p < .001$. Lenient gatekeepers ($M = 1.62$, $SD = 2.45$) were also less opposed to having a boss of a different race than individualist gatekeepers ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 3.01$) and strict gatekeepers ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 3.29$), $F(2, 34,801) = 2907.07$, $p < .001$. Finally, lenient gatekeepers ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 0.99$) were less in favour of stopping immigration to reduce tensions than individualist gatekeepers ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.07$) and strict gatekeepers ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 0.98$), $F(2, 34,261) = 3024.48$, $p < .001$ (all post hoc Scheffe tests $p < .001$).

Predicting typology membership

A discriminant analysis was carried out next to study individual differences in typology memberships (Bailey, 1994; Diekhoff, 1992; Doise et al., 1998). Sociodemographic and attitudinal variables were used to predict membership in three groups. Education, household income, and perceived collective vulnerability were group status predictors. Perceived physical safety and satisfaction with the financial situation of household were predictors indicating individual subjective vulnerability. Contact with immigrant friends and degree of urbanity indicated proximity to immigration. Intolerance towards homosexuality was the generalized prejudice predictor. In addition, sex and age were controlled for.

TABLE 4

Loadings of individual difference predictors with discriminant functions and typology group centroids

	<i>Functions</i>	
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
Group status		
Years of education	-.57	.05
Household income	-.21	-.21
Perceived collective vulnerability	.15	-.34
Subjective individual vulnerability		
Perceived financial vulnerability	.34	.29
Perceived physical vulnerability	.26	-.22
Contact with immigrants		
Immigrant friends	-.53	.33
Urbanity	-.11	.18
Generalized prejudice		
Homophobia	.66	.51
Control variables		
Age	.56	-.35
Sex (female)	.00	.11
Group centroids		
Strict gatekeepers	.58	.03
Individualist gatekeepers	-.15	-.07
Lenient gatekeepers	-.60	.08

Two discriminant functions were calculated, $\chi^2(20) = 6460.37$, $p < .001$. After removal of the first function, there was still a strong association between groups and predictors, $\chi^2(9) = 121.74$, $p < .001$. However, 98% of between-group variance was explained by the first function. On the first discriminant function, homophobia, years of education, age, contact with immigrant friends, and perceived individual financial vulnerability differentiated the three typology groups most strongly (Table 4). Perceived physical vulnerability, collective vulnerability, household income, urbanity, and gender, in turn, were less important in differentiating between the groups. On the second, clearly less substantial, discriminant function, homophobia, age, contact with immigrant friends, and perceived collective vulnerability discriminated the groups.

Observation of group centroids in Table 4 indicates that the first discriminant function separated lenient gatekeepers from strict gatekeepers. The individualist gatekeepers were located in between the lenient and strict gatekeepers. This result reflects the fact that discriminant analysis primarily differentiates between extreme groups (Doise et al. 1993), in this case lenient and strict gatekeepers. Lenient gatekeepers had more positive attitudes towards homosexuality, higher education, more immigrant friends, felt financially less vulnerable, and they were younger than strict gatekeepers (loadings above .30 were interpreted). The second function differentiated the two relatively favourable types of gatekeeping: lenient gatekeepers and individualist gatekeepers. Now lenient gatekeepers were more homophobic, younger, perceived less collective vulnerability, and had more immigrant friends than individualist gatekeepers.

The stability of the classification procedure was controlled for with cross-validation. Half of the participants were excluded from the calculation of classification functions. For the cases selected in the analysis, 51% were classified correctly. For the cross-validation cases, the classification rate remained at 50%, indicating a high degree of consistency in the classification scheme.

Variations between nations

A correspondence analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between the three typology groups and the 21 countries, $\chi^2(42) = 4260.77$, $p < .001$. This multivariate technique maximizes the relationship between categorical variables and thus

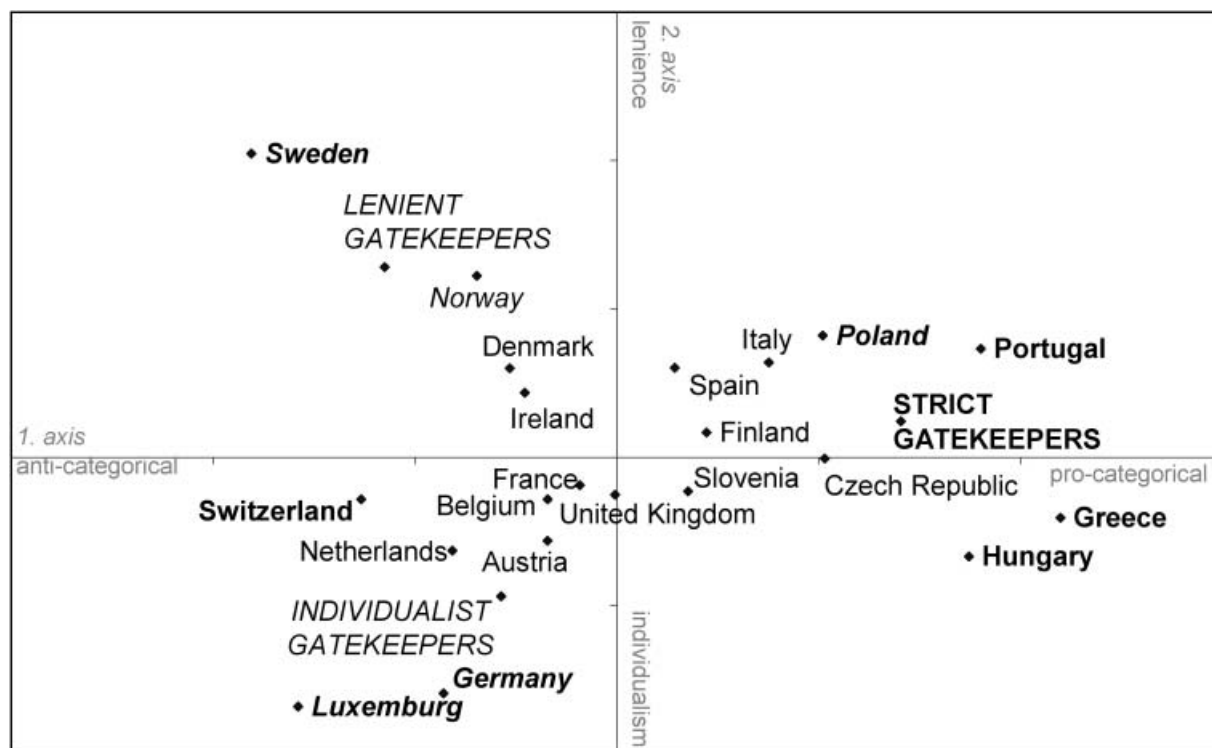


Figure 1. Correspondence analysis between nations and typology (raw scores): Bold indicates above-mean contribution on first dimension, italic indicates above-mean contribution on second dimension.

provides information about how membership in typology groups is linked to national membership (see Blasius, 1994; Lebart, 1994) by representing the categories of the variables as points within a space (Clausen, 1998). Thereby, individual- and nation-level differences are accounted for simultaneously (see also Doise et al., 1998; Green et al., 2005).

Typology groups and countries are depicted on a two-dimensional space presented in Figure 1. On the first dimension, Sweden, Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Germany were opposed to strict gatekeepers, as well as to Greece, Hungary, Portugal and Poland (representing 69% of explained variance). Consistent with the first function of the individual-level discriminant analysis differentiating lenient and strict gatekeepers, this dimension was defined by acceptance of versus rejection of categorical criteria. On the second dimension (31% of explained variance), individualist gatekeepers were opposed to lenient gatekeepers, and Germany and Luxembourg were differentiated from Sweden and Norway. This second dimension provides validity to the second discriminant function presented above. If individualist gatekeepers were an intermediate case, the second dimension of the correspondence analysis would have been less substantial. Moreover, the

individualist gatekeepers would have been located in the centre of the first dimension.

At a descriptive level, the positions of countries in Figure 1 match a geographical organization of European regions. Western European countries were located in the lower left quadrant with individualist gatekeepers, and Nordic countries (except Finland) were clustered together in the upper left quadrant with lenient gatekeepers. Eastern and Southern Europeans were located together in the right quadrants with strict gatekeepers. These results suggest that while all groups were represented in each country (see Appendix), considerable variation of distributions across countries was found.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this paper was to investigate gatekeeping attitudes towards immigrants in 21 Western and Eastern European countries. A typology of gatekeeping, which differentiated lenient, strict, and individualist gatekeepers, was created by means of a cluster analysis. It is important to note that individualist gatekeepers are not merely defined as an intermediate group between lenient and strict gatekeepers, since they share characteristics of both groups. On the one hand, together with lenients,

they oppose categorical criteria; on the other, like the strict gatekeepers, they support individual criteria. It is nonetheless difficult to determine whether individualist gatekeepers are simply adhering to an anti-blattant norm and therefore not revealing ostensibly xenophobic (categorical) attitudes or whether they genuinely support a meritocratic immigration policy.

The first function of a discriminant analysis revealed that lenient gatekeepers differed from strict gatekeepers mainly in terms of a generalized prejudiced attitude construct (e.g., Jost et al., 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), suggesting close links between strict gatekeeping and homophobia. Furthermore, the relationship between low social status and prejudice (e.g., Scheepers et al., 2002) as well as between low status and support for categorical gatekeeping (Deschamps, 1982; Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1998), was found to the extent that strict gatekeepers had a lower level of education than lenient gatekeepers. Personal contact with immigrants (e.g., Pettigrew, 1998) predicted lenient gatekeeping, whereas feelings of personal financial vulnerability (Stephan & Renfro, 2003) predicted strict gatekeeping.

While individualist gatekeepers were between the lenient and strict gatekeepers (see Coenders et al., 2001) on the first discriminant function, a second function yielded evidence, albeit less robust, of differences between lenient and individualist gatekeepers. On this dimension, lenient gatekeepers were more homophobic, younger, perceived less collective vulnerability, and had more immigrant friends than individualist gatekeepers. This result mainly suggests that xenophobia and homophobia can be dissociated among some individuals.

Overall, the investigation of individual-level differences evidenced a variety of factors accounting for gatekeeping typology membership. Several theoretical perspectives (i.e., generalized prejudice, intergroup contact, realistic conflict theories) are therefore needed to understand the support for and opposition to immigration. Nevertheless, while a typological approach allows the creation of a taxonomy of various configurations of attitudes, it neglects the hierarchical nature of the dataset where individuals (citizens) are nested within countries. Recent research using a multi-level approach with the ESS data has distinguished different levels of predictors of gatekeeping attitudes, for example, conceptualized in terms of individual- and national-level threat (Green, 2005; see also Coenders et al., 2004, 2005). Schwartz (2005), in turn, shows with the ESS dataset that, as individual-level values, need for security and

conformity predict opposition to immigration, whereas universalism is related to support for immigration. On the national level, egalitarianism as a cultural value is related to support for immigration.

Cross-national differences in gatekeeping

A correspondence analysis with countries and typology groups showed that strict gatekeepers were opposed to lenient and individualist gatekeepers on the first axis. Lenient and individualist gatekeepers were opposed on the second axis showing that, at least on the country level, individualist gatekeeping is more than an intermediate positioning between strict and liberal immigration attitudes. Northern European countries were located close to lenient gatekeepers, whereas Western European countries were grouped in the proximity of individualist gatekeepers. Southern and Eastern European countries, in turn, were situated close to strict gatekeepers. The differences between the regions are discussed in terms of geopolitical and immigration history, type of immigrant populations, geographical access to countries, and legal citizenship status of immigrants (Lahav, 2004), bearing in mind the descriptive nature of correspondence analysis. A correspondence analysis defines a general pattern by graphically recapitulating a contingency table but not the distances between the typology groups and the countries (Clausen, 1998).

Most Western European countries included in this study have a tradition of labour importing as well as a colonial past (e.g., Sassen, 1999). In the post-war period, immigration evolved in these countries as a function of demographic and structural needs (Lahav, 2004). Despite these similarities, policies and organizational arrangements concerning the incorporation of new migrant groups in society vary widely (Soysal, 1994). In some Western European countries, organization is centralized, such as in the Netherlands, Germany, or France, whereas in the other countries, such as Switzerland or Britain, the resources allocated for migration are decentralized (e.g., Soysal, 1994). Moreover, the Western European countries have diverging naturalization policies (e.g., Lahav, 2004).

Nordic countries had similar positionings and were close to lenient gatekeepers. These countries have a tradition of a strong welfare state and, until recently, have pursued liberal migration and asylum policies (see Hammar, 1999; Ornbrandt & Peura, 1993). Insofar as welfare states play an important role in mediating the relationship

between individuals and society (Geddes, 2003), allocation of benefits to immigrants is a major stake in these countries. Finland was not located among the other Nordic countries in the correspondence analysis, presumably because it differs from these countries in terms of a less developed immigration infrastructure (Lahav, 2004) and negligible immigration rates. This may explain the differing gatekeeping attitudes. Interestingly, Sweden, with the highest proportion of lenient gatekeepers, has had the most comprehensive policy of immigrant integration (Hammar, 1999; Ornbrant & Peura, 1993). Still, given that higher levels of individualist gatekeepers were revealed in strong welfare states such as the Netherlands, the nature of the welfare state system alone cannot explain the opposition between lenient and individualist gatekeepers.

Inhabitants of Eastern and Southern European countries supported the strictest criteria for entry. Several factors may account for support for gatekeeping in these regions. In both Eastern and Southern Europe, large-scale immigration is a new phenomenon that does not follow the same patterns as in Western Europe (Coleman, 1999; Geddes, 2003). The Eastern European countries of the present sample are former socialist countries that joined the European Union in May 2004. Whereas aspirations for membership of the Union has shaped policy decisions, the framework for implementing the policies and regulating migration is not yet fully developed (Geddes, 2003; Lavenex & Uçarer, 2004). Revival of nationalism in Eastern Europe in the post Cold War era, historically reflected in political discourses in which ethnic identity rather than civic values are emphasized (Brubaker, 1996; Staerklé, Sidanius, Green, & Molina, 2006; Tamas, 1999), may also explain prejudiced attitudes towards immigrants and internal ethnic minorities, such as the Roma. Southern European countries, in turn, were previously predominantly emigrant and labour-exporting countries and became a destination of Third-World immigrants in the late 1970s (Castles & Miller, 2003; Martiniello, 1995).

Fear of becoming a "buffer zone" and receiving masses of immigrants due to more restrictive immigration and asylum policies in Northern and Western Europe (Geddes, 2003; Tamas, 1999; see also Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005) is yet another explanation for the anti-immigration stances in these regions. In addition, the prevalence of strict gatekeeping might be due to the fact that Eastern and Southern European countries are located on the borders of the European Union (this is true for Finland, too), where non-European immigrants

most frequently enter. The proximity of borders may give rise to feelings of threat of mass immigration, which then leads to support for harsh gatekeeping. Illegal immigration is also greater in Southern and Eastern Europe due to their position on the borders of Europe (Castles & Miller, 2003; Coleman, 1999). Finally, in terms of realistic conflict theory (Bobo, 1983) on a national level, restrictive immigration attitudes emerge as a result of competition for scarce resources. The subordinate low-status position of South and East Europe compared to West and North Europe in terms of wealth, for example, could thus explain a greater degree of strict gatekeeping.

CONCLUSION

This research focused on how three gatekeeping attitudes relate to each other at the individual level, and how such combinations account for variations within and between national contexts. Despite the ambitions of harmonizing and unifying European migration policies, national and regional particularities persist. These divergences, as well as the dynamic nature of immigration, certainly reflect on immigration attitudes in Europe. Finally, while immigration is high on the political agenda in Europe, the major part of immigration takes place in the global South (Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005). While further research is necessary, notably in Third-World countries, the patterns of gatekeeping attitudes revealed in this paper reflect crucial aspects of public opinion that need to be addressed in current political debates on immigration in Europe.

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APPENDIX

Distribution of typology by nation (ordered as a function of decreasing proportion of strict gatekeepers)

